563 [651] Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

[554] The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Ifŏras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

[233] This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

[162] In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

[651] /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

[669] Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Ifŏras held them in suspicion for a long time.

[28] [462] Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

[600] There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

312 and from all the subterranean flows; thus it is richer in watering places. There are rédir, or wells, varying from 5 to 10 meters in depth.

342 The tent. -- This kind of habitation is found from the western Asian steppes to the Atlantic, where nomads have generally adopted the camel's-hair tent. Tuareg, who do not own any camels with long hair, use skins.

[281] The tent is composed of a large awning formed by assembling 30 to 40 wild-sheep or goat hides, with the hair removed and tanned. Because of the scarcity of wild-sheep skins, goatskin and even cow-
[184] hide are gradually being substituted for them. Cowhide is used exclusively by the Ioullimmiden Tuareg. The awning is held up by a frame of arches or poles. The Kel Ahaggar, moreover, have two kinds of tents: one with vertical supports and one with arches. The former is more widespread at the present time. It includes a central pole with a wooden ridge tile and six secondary poles placed in a circle. The highest part of the awning is about 1.5 meters from the ground. The edges of the skin hang down almost level with the ground where they are attached by small pegs in order to keep out the sandstorms which are very common in spring and summer, and keep out the winter cold.

The ridge tile on a central pole is especially used in summer when rains are feared, for it gives the proper slope to the awning so that water can flow off. In other seasons this ridge tile is replaced by two poles supporting a crosspiece.

Although one cannot stand inside, the Tuareg tent is spacious
323 enough. The poles are in tamarisk wood, with coarse sculpture,
531 pyrography, and paintings on the upper part. /224/ This type of tent is used by the Kel Rela, the Dag Rêli, and most of the Kel Ahaggar.

[184] The other model is now used only among the Ayouh-en-Tehlé. It appears that the Kel Ahnet and the Kel In Rhar may still use it, too. The center stake of the type described above is replaced by one or two arches made of éthel /atle? Ed./ roots joined by a

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To make up this deficiency in graminaceae, the Tuareg have recourse to products of gathering.

After a rain the captives and the Imrad women gather the seeds of certain plants which grow in the Ahaggar valleys. They are the afasso (Panicum turgidum F.) and the oulloul (Aristida pungens D.). But the size of the yield varies with the abundance of rain, and one may say that most of the time it is quite /233/ uncertain. This is not the case in the Sudan, where the Iklan gather whole bags of wild seeds, particularly cram-cram (Cenchrus echinatus), every year.

Fig. 31. Little leather flask used as a butter container.

To be sure, there are a few wild berries in the Ahaggar, such as those from the jujube tree (Zizyphus lotus D.) and the téborak (Balanites aegyptiaca). In case of famine the Tuareg fall back on other seeds, such as those of the colocynth, the Acacia tortillis, etc. However, all these plants play only a secondary role in the Tuareg diet.

The Tuareg have at their disposal milk from their camels, goats, and ewes. They drink it either whole or diluted with water, either fresh or sour.

The luxury of drinking whole milk is reserved for young mothers and children. Adults generally drink fresh milk morning and

Wood furnishes containers for food, drinking vessels, milking vessels, mortars, pestles, tent stakes, crosspieces and boards for making saddles. The Ahaggar does not have more than five or six species of woods which can be worked, and the articles, very simply shaped, are much less varied than in the Sudanese tribes.

All Ahaggar women, noble or vassal, know how to tan, remove hair from, sew, decorate, and embroider leather. They are able to make a waterskin needed to carry water, prepare skins to make tents, and manufacture bags for transporting food and personal objects. They have all become so expert in these labors that it is

Fig. 47. Amoula, a little wooden "bottle" for young children to drink from.

difficult to find any other peoples in the world who possess such a developed leather craft.

The scarcity of vegetable materials in the Ahaggar is one of the reasons why the use of esparto is relatively restricted. Only the stems of a graminacea common in the wadies (Panicum turgidum) are used to make mats -- large enclosing mats which surround the tent, sleeping mats, mats for covering plates.

/278/ The stems are bound by little leather thongs, and the combination of graminacea and leather is extremely effective; it allows very regular geometric decorations at the same time as a very solid work.

There are no esparto vans among the Tuareg. The women use palm-leaf vans and hats, but these articles are the work of the Harratin from the little palm groves of Silet, Ideles, and Abalessa.

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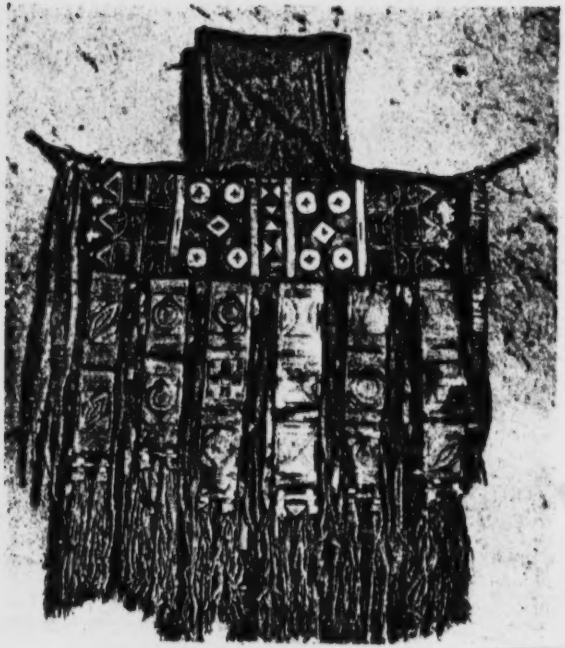
Old noblewoman from the Kel Rela tribe weaving a bag with goat's hair thread.



Goatskin bag used by women to transport their personal clothing. The very delicate decoration is obtained by cutting out the skin and applying embroidered leather.

1: Lhote--166a E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

439 These transactions are chiefly centered around tea, sugar, cloth, perfumes, hardware, carbide, and blankets from the Touat. They cause quite an appreciable movement of camels from which the Ihaggaren benefit, along with the Arabs from In-Salah who rent their camels to traders.

492 Transport. -- We need not repeat that without the camel the Sahara would be uninhabited today. Indeed, it plays a capital role in transport between oases; it is the mount used by warriors and people who are moving and the vehicle for baggage. People would not be able to do without its services the moment it is a question of crossing a hundred or so kilometers in a region not supplied with watering places.

The ass also plays a big role, but its use is more localized. [312] It is confined to the edges of the massif, where it is rare not to find water during a day's march. The ass really assures all internal transport -- that necessitated by moving camps, transport of water [565] and even of persons -- for although the Imochar never travel except on camels, the Imrad /318/ commonly make use of the ass, and their wives know no other mounts. Its role is even more appreciated because it saves camels which, in the Ahaggar, must be submitted /only/ to moderate labor. In addition, it is always handy, for it lives near the camps while camels are often several days' march away because of pasture needs.

Meharists have a special harness: light saddles which are placed on the animal's withers and which are designed to receive the different bags of salt and waterskins.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have several kinds of saddles: 1) the [241] tarik, with the pommel in the shape of a cross and covered with red leather; 2) the tamzak, shaped the same way, but much more [531] luxurious, with the outside of the pommel and the back decorated with little perforated metal plates and copper studs; 3) the tahiast, [531] a coarse saddle with a palette-shaped pommel, either in bare wood [322] or covered with leather decorated with geometric designs.

When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as interested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels. The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

and, if it is of good quality, it is liable to split a buckler in two. The hand is protected by a little rectangular iron guard which gives the shape of a cross to the upper part of the sword.

Duveyrier, the explorer, noted that the Tuareg used the bow. We have not found this weapon among them, nor any evidence as to what it used to be used for.

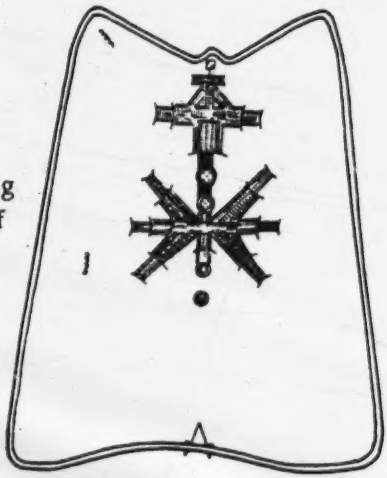


Fig. 58. Tuareg buckler made of oryx.antelope skin.

All of these weapons have become very archaic in view of the arrival of rapid-firing weapons. The Ahaggar Imochar still hold to their sword, which they always wear over their shoulders, and which seems to be used more to indicate their social rank than for warring action. In the Sudan almost all the Tuareg still carry lances, and some of them carry forearm daggers. In Aïr one may still see a buckler hung from the saddle of a mehari. But in a few years all these objects will be good for filling trophy cases.

182 and the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a nation, too stubborn to adapt themselves to any way of life other than their own, have at last signed their name to the ever-lengthening list of vanishing peoples.

342 Shelter. The typical dwelling of the Ahaggar Tuareg is a leather tent, made preferably of the skins of goats although sometimes those of sheep or even calves are used (fig. 36). A tent of mouflon skins is considered the height of luxury and elegance, but it is almost impossible to come by enough of them to make such a tent nowadays. The prepared skins are 281 very soft and have a pleasing dull red brick 342 color which is produced by rubbing them on both sides with a mixture of red ocherous clay and dried camel dung. After being prepared and cut down to rectangular form, they are sewed together with fine strips of leather. Anywhere from 30 to as many as 150 may be used to make a single tent, but the first number is not far below the average. A finished tent of ordinary size weighs about 50 pounds more or less.

342 Tents are mounted on wooden frames of various closely similar types, the most common of which consists of three elements, each composed of two uprights with a horizontal member laid across their tops. The highest element is set in the middle with one upright in front and the other in the back, and the two remaining elements are set up parallel to it, one on either side. The tent covering is then stretched over this framework, with its back and sides pegged down and the front left open, usually facing south. In good weather the overhanging front of the roof is stretched out horizontally to form an awning held in place by three supplementary posts, one in the middle and another at each end. The average tent is 6 to 10 feet deep from front to back, 10 to 15 feet wide and 4 to 5 feet high in the middle, with the roof sloping away very gently on both sides and toward the back wall. The structure is completed by [285] long strips of stiff, yellow matting made of 351 thin reeds, roughly 3 feet wide and up to 20 feet long more or less, with simple geometric designs in black or reddish brown leather ribbon woven into them. These strips are set on edge around the inside of the tent so as to make an inner wall at the back and sides,

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

Chapter XIII

Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡⁚+ , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tiousse," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

Chapter XIV

The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁞⊐ıı , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281] constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342 called "ehakit" ⵄⵀⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called "tamankaït" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵎ , is placed at the entrance of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called "madar'en" ⵉⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the "tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴷⴰⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent to the ground are called "tisselitaï" ⵜⵉⵙⵍⵉⵜⴰⵢ . Sometimes bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⵊⴻⵊⵓ , plural "idjedjan" ⵉⵊⴻⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴻⵣⵣⵓ [285 (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824] plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴻⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352 is, waterskins, "abe'lor'" ⴰⴱⴻⵍⵍⵓⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" 415 ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⴻⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ . They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴻⴳⵓⴼⴼⵉ , plural "iseguefa" ⵉⵙⴻⴳⵓⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231 Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴻⵔⵓⵉⵏ . They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243 (Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415 "tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called "az'enou" ⴰⵣⴻⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it, they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal" ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi, " they have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281] use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of 231
nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. 415
This utensil is called "ar'alala" ⵄⵔⴰⵍⴰⵍⴰ .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, 415
called "akous" ⴰⴽⴰⵙ , plural "ikassen" ⵉⴽⴰⵙⵙⴰⵏ ,
large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" ⵜⴰⵔⵄⴰⵍⵜ , and smaller dishes
used as plates and called "tar'ehout" ⵜⴰⵔⵄⴰⵀⵓⵜ , plural
"tireha" ⵜⵉⵔⵄⴰⵀⵉⵏ . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use
a large ladle, "temoulat" ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵍⴰⵜ , plural "timoulatin"

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵍⴰⵜ , and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons
called "tesoukalt" ⵜⵉⵙⴽⴰⵍⵜ , plural "tsoukaline" ⵜⵙⴽⴰⵍⵉⵏ .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from 252
their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" 415
ⵜⵉⵙⵙⵉⵜ , plural "tissiin" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⵉⵏ .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" 415
ⴰⴽⴰⴱⴰⵔ , with its pestle, "ihar'en" ⵉⵀⴰⵔⵄⴰⵏ .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which 281
they call "adjera" ⴰⴷⵊⴻⵔⴰ , plural "idjerouen" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵔⴰⵡⴻⵏ 415

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the 415
"teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the 824
abser', or "tamat, " (Acacia arabica).

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *emehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg. But the relation *(temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Ḍela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaẓlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

233 /85 cont./ When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5,000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the 231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs, [439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

IV
Material Life

Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation, ● 281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

/87 cont./ skin is lightly tanned with tamat or adjar leaves, then smeared with butter to make it supple. After these operations, the red tint is added in the following way: "tamadjouhit," a sort of red clay, is mashed up with camel dung; with the powder thus obtained, the still greasy skin is rubbed until the desired color is obtained. The skin is then soaked in water for two days so that it may be stretched, smoothed out, flattened, cut, and sewed. The women of the camp undertake this last task; they all pitch in to work, joking, talking, and the work gets done at a good rate. One tent may have from 30 to 120, or even 150, skins. Strands of fine leather thongs, artistically cut, called "balenkassen," hang from the top, giving the inside /88/ of the tent a novel effect. The tent is supported by six vertical wooden stakes, 1.50 meters high, sticking about 20 centimeters into the ground. These vertical stakes are joined in pairs by three horizontal bars; the stakes are attached to each other with cords made from plaited goat hair. The tent rests on these stakes and is anchored at the edges by smaller stakes or large stones. The front of the tent, facing south, is generally open, and the sides are attached to tall, vertical stakes, the tops of which are often carved. On the inside the tent wall is lined with an "asaber," a kind of long mat made with stalks of "afazzou" (a grass). Making an asaber is a job requiring a great deal of patience; first the afazzou must be gathered with care taken to choose the longest stalks; then the stalks are assembled in pairs, being tied with previously prepared narrow leather thongs, with one thong around the top and another around the bottom of the stalks. The asaber is about 80 centimeters wide, with thongs wrapped around the stalks every three or four centimeters. The length varies from seven to eight meters, or exactly four times the height of a man with his arms upraised. The top border of the asaber is decorated with a band of leather interwoven with geometric designs. Two women take about a year to do this work.

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinak*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *témilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people 564
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asafun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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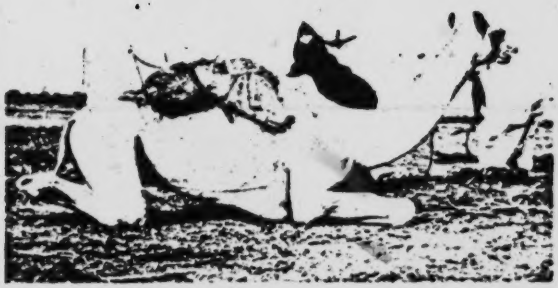

Fig. 53. Pack camel with the saddle consisting of two skin-bags (*imaytalen*) stuffed with hay. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.
Fig. 54. A skin bag (*amaytal*, pl. *imaytalen*) of the type used for pack-saddle. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: ca. 0.80 m. (N.M. G. 6658).

*492
531 leather fringes (cf. Fig. 52). Some very elaborate halters are found in the Musée de l'homme (Nos. 5.66.5; 30.61.228; 95.46.3; D $\frac{34}{4}$ 42; D $\frac{34}{1}$ 25).

*492 Foucauld describes a peculiar method for leading camels, as follows:— A little wooden stick (*aġula*) is stuck into the skin between the chin and the lower jaw of the animal, and the lead is attached to this stick. The method is practised with camels which have no nostril ring and cannot be led by means of a rope attached around their lower jaw (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 426). I have seen this peculiar method practised once in Ahaggar.

Pack-camels are rarely used without some type of saddle, but it happens that camels are used for water-transportation from the well to the camp without a saddle. The waterbags are then hung over the animal's back, their cords resting upon a layer of straw or sprays. In Ahaggar, and more so in Ayr, it is also common instead of a proper saddle to use two skin-bags filled with grain, straw, or the like to form cushions. One of these is placed before, the other behind the hump so that the cords of luggage bags can rest upon them (cf. Fig. 53–54). These cushions are known as *imaytalen* (sing. *amaytal*), and they may serve as a pack-saddle even on long journeys, though the Tuareg in general use proper saddles on trading expeditions.

[171] Pack-saddles of the Northern Tuareg correspond to saddles found among the Arabs of the Sahara. The common type is that known to the Arabs as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥidāǧe*, and called *élaki* by the Northern [824] Tuareg. It consists of a wooden frame (*élaki*) generally made from pieces of palm leaf ribs (Fig. 55). [284] It is made up of two crossbars placed close to each other, each of them being composed of two short and slightly curved pieces of palm leaves' ribs lashed together at the top with raw camel-hide. The

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may be seen in Fig. 167a–b illustrating baskets used for the manufacture of butter-milk cheese in Ahaggar. True coiled basketry is sewn with a little awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a).

The technique of coiled basket work is used in the manufacture of a great many receptacles among the Tuareg of Ahaggar, and coiled basketry made and utilized by these Tuareg can be seen in Figs. 184, 185, 196a–c, 210a–b.

The Ayr Tuareg apparently do not make coiled basketry to a very great extent, but they know a technique related to that used in Ahaggar, and also sew with a small awl (*éstan*). The reason why so many Ayr pastoralists make very little coiled basketry work probably lies in the fact that plates, bowls, and other receptacles of this type can be obtained at the market of Agadez at very low prices.

In the manufacture of plaited basketry the Ayr Tuareg are experts. They use the leaves of the dum palm for plaiting a great many different articles such as tent-mats, containers, and the like. When large mats and similar objects are made, the palm leaves are always plaited into narrow bands which are sewn together with pieces of leaves by means of a large needle (*tasubla*) (Fig. 220b). Plaiting dum palm leaves is one of the most important tasks of women among the *Kel Ayr*. Pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar in contrast to those of Ayr do not engage much in plaiting basketry, and I believe that most of them are unaware of this technique which is known to all sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. The plaiting material used by these people is date palm leaves (*aǧum*) from which they make mats, bags, and similar objects. Baskets (*aleguiguten*) like that reproduced Fig. 211 are manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa and are sometimes used by pastoral Tuareg. Another type of plaited basket is that illustrated Fig. 135. It is made from palm leaves and has two handles made from palm bast twisted into a rope which is sewn into the basket by means of the large needle (*tasugla*, or *tasubla*) (Fig 220b). This basket type (*tésenli*) is widely found throughout Northern Africa among sedentary people of the oases and in the Atlas. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar use baskets of this kind for many different purposes, and they play a part in agricultural work, e.g., to carry fresh soil to the gardens (p. 191) and to remove soil when digging and cleaning out foggara canals.

The Tuareg have a third technique which can adequately be mentioned in connection with plaiting, namely the manufacturing of mats from the stems of the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). These mats are made from straws placed parallel to each other and fixed together by means of strips of leather. These mats are known as *éseber* or *tésebert* according to their use and size. They play an important part in Ahaggar where they are used as a kind of windscreen surrounding all tents, and they are manufactured by many women among the *Kel Ahaggar* (Figs. 268, 269). Mats of this type are also made by some Ayr Tuareg for cheese manufacturing (Fig. 168), but Tuareg women of Ayr practise very little this particular technique of mat making. Large mats made from *afezu* stems are used for bed covers, and in rare cases also for windscreens or sunshades, but these mats, which are found in all Tuareg camps together with the large wooden bed (*téḍabut*) (Fig. 212a–b), are not manufactured in Ayr but in the south, particularly by women of the *Iǧdalen* Tuareg. Mats manufactured by this method are used for an interior cover of the barrel-vaulted mat-tent (Fig. 265d); these mats are also imported from the south.

The Tuareg are expert at skin and leather work which constitues the most important craft in the

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Fig. 213. Tanning receptacle (*ahaǧa*) of camel-hide lashed to a ring consisting of a bough bent into a circular position. Ahaggar, the *Dag Ɣali* tribe. Dimension: 0.55 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5229).

281 [462] north where tents and a great many domestic implements and containers are made from skin. Skin work plays a certain role also for the Ayr Tuareg, but pastoral women in Ayr do not engage in this craft to the same extent as do women among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

281 192 The Tuareg have several terms for skin and leather. In Ahaggar I have noted the following:— (1) *élem*, the common word for the skin of most animals whether tanned or untanned; (2) *akker*, that is the common word for an untanned hide of all animals with the exception of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, the skin of camels, oxen, giraffe, and certain antelope whether tanned or untanned. The terms noted among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg in Ayr are largely different:— (1) *awreṛeṛ*, an untanned hide; (2) *égachik*, tanned or untanned skin of all animals with the exception of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (3) *érit*, tanned or untanned skin of oxen, camels, giraffe, and certain antelope; (4) *esarku*, tanned skin of oxen.

281 I have already mentioned that camels are killed in a peculiar way and partitioned before skinning so that the hide is never removed entire. I have stated in the same connection that pastoral Ayr Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, and I have mentioned that though camel's hide plays a certain part in Northern Tuareg crafts they never tan it, while they tan skin of all other domestic animals and game animals such as gazelle and barbary sheep. The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for lashing wood (cf. Fig. 86), and they also employ it for camel whips (cf. p. 84) and for certain other artifacts which are now to be described.

*[415] The Northern Tuareg use camel's hide for the manufacturing of a large tanning receptacle known as ahaǧa (Fig. 213).

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as *ahegu* (Fig. 213). Such tanning receptacles are made in the following way among the Ahaggar Tuareg:— A slender bough of the *tahamek* tree (*Rhus oxyacantha*) is bent and fixed into a circular form, and a piece of camel's hide soaked in water is attached to this frame. Sand and pebbles are thereupon placed upon the hide within the frame, which is lifted upwards by means of cords fastened to it and to the bough of a tree. This is done to produce the bowl-like form of the receptacle which is left filled with sand and pebbles and attached to the tree for a few days. Thus it is dried by the sun, and thereafter it will become very hard and keep the desired bowl-like form. Certain butter-containers made from raw camel hide are manufactured on the same principle, the entrance to such containers being made by the insertion of a piece of wood around which the upper part of the piece of hide is firmly attached. The sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar also use camel's hide for the manufacture of a long rope (*akhamil*), which is used for drawing water from wells by means of oxen when the *tanut* system of irrigation (Fig. 132a–b) is employed. A rope of this kind is made from strips of soaked hide twisted together and hammered between stones to be left for drying in the sun. It is also said that camel's hide in the north is used for sandals of a particular type, while the Ayr Tuareg may use raw oxe-hide for sandals (cf. p. 301). The Ayr Tuareg may also employ raw oxe-hide for the manufacture of ropes and cords, and for camel whips. The hides of camels and oxen are known to the Tuareg by the common term *ýrit* and they seem to possess certain qualities in common.

The hide of such animals as goats, sheep, gazelle, barbary sheep is never used untanned among the Tuareg, and they may tan the hide of oxen and various other animals.

The Tuareg use a particular method for tanning goat-skin to be used for water-bags (*abayor*) (Figs. 215–217). I have watched this, particularly in Ahaggar, where a water-bag is prepared in the following way:— The animal is killed in the normal way of cutting its throat, and is then so skinned that the hide comes off almost entire. This is done by making the following openings with the knife: the head is cut off, cuts are made around the lower part of all four feet, and on the inner side of the

Fig. 214. Tannin consisting of bark (*tibu*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*) which is used for tanning water bags. The bark is left upon a piece of rock for drying. Ahaggar, the *Afuk-en-ahkil* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 273]

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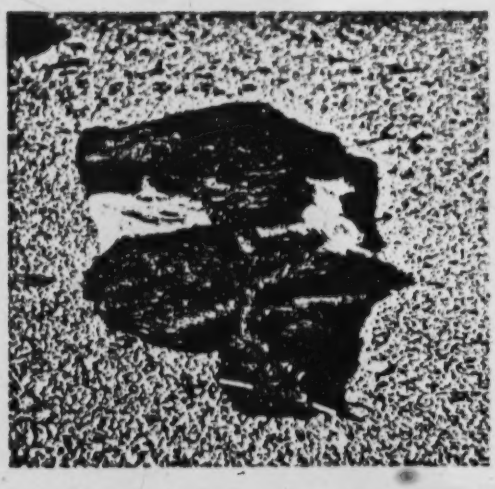

Fig. 215a. The bag to be prepared is filled with a mixture of water and *tider* (bark) and is placed in the sun. The openings are provisionally closed by sewing with straw.

Preparation of a water bag (*abeyay*).

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Fig. 215b. The tanned water bag is suspended for drying. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

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Fig. 216. Water bag (*abayay*). Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. (N.M.).

hind thighs over the animal's anus. This latter opening is made big enough for the skin to be drawn off the body forwards over the neck. When the hide is removed and has been cleaned by scraping with a knife, it is ready for tanning, which is done as follows:— The openings made on all four legs are closed simply by tieing the leg skin into knots, while the opening made on the inner side of the hind thighs is sewn together with straw by means of the awl (*tistent*) (Fig. 218a), the anus opening being closed with a cord tied around it. The hide is now closed except at the neck opening. It is filled with a mixture of water and bark (*tiñet*) of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*), and the neck-opening is thereupon closed with a cord tied around it. The hide, which now forms a closed bag filled with bark and water, is placed in the shade of the tent for seven to ten days to be turned and shaken every day. The mixture of bark and water is thereupon poured out, the cuts sewn together or tied with knots are reopened, the inner side of the hide is cleaned and treated with butter, and the openings are closed again in a more solid fashion, the large hind opening being closed with strips of cotton placed over the incision and sewn together with leather thread by means of the awl. A water bag prepared in this way will very often contain reddish water, as the *tamat* bark yields a red colour, but nevertheless all Tuareg consider bark of the *tamat* acacia as the very best tannin for water bags. Bark of *abser* (*afagag* in Ayr) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and also bark of *tahunek* (*Rhus oxyacantha*) may be used for tanning water bags. Water bags are, with very rare exceptions, made from hairy skin because they keep the water cool and fresh. The large open irrigation pail (*agu*) is made from skin tanned with bark like water bags, but to my knowledge bark tanning among the Tuareg is not employed for other articles.

281 [413] [824] [824] [415] *

[Text continues on p. 276]

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281 [415]

Fig. 217. A rolled-up water bag (*ahayar*). When out of use the Tuareg preserve their water bags in this way in order that they shall not crack. The skin of a dry water bag is extremely hard. It is soaked in water for some time before it becomes ready for use.

[413]

Fig. 218a–b. Sewing awls.

a. Awl (*tisteni*) of the type used for sewing in Ahaggar. Made by blacksmith at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.115 m long. (F.M. 288).

b. Awl (*tadel*) of the type used for sewing sandals. Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.170 m long. (F.M. 99).

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Fig. 219a–d. Implements used for skin and leather work in Ahaggar.

a. Wooden cutting board (*elkeylob*). It is made from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). 0.480 m long. (N.M. G. 5867). [824]

b. Wooden implement (*asertem*) for smoothing leather. Wood of the *taburak* tree. Dimension: 0.248 m long. (N.M. G. 5868).

c. Heavy black stone (*tazgat*) with level under side. Used for smoothing leather. Dimension: 0.079 × 0.061 m. (N.M. G. 5873).

d. Knife (*telmunit*). Dimension: 0.163 m long. (N.M. G. 5869). Manufactured and used by blacksmiths in Ahaggar, Abalessa.

The vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar use hairy skin for the manufacture of certain receptacles other than water bags (cf. Figs. 111, 125). I have never seen hairy skin bags of this type in Ayr, and even in Ahaggar most skin bags are made from depilated skins. In Ahaggar the hair is removed from the hide by means of a plant known as *tachkat* (*Pergularia tomentosa*). A bundle of this plant is dipped into hot water and is rubbed against the inner side of the hide which is spread out over a large stone or a similar object. Even after one day the hair can then be removed by one or two women who pluck it with their fingers. In Ahaggar I have also been told by sedentary agriculturists that the hair can be removed by means of salt. The salt is placed upon the inner side of the hide and this treatment makes it possible to scrape away the hair by means of a knife or a stone. The Ayr Tuareg questioned about their methods of depilation place ashes from the fireplace on the inner side of the hide which after this treatment is covered with moistened sand for one day. After this treatment the hair is removed with a knife or simply with the fingers. 281 [545] [413]* [824]

The tannin generally used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr for articles other than water bags 281 824

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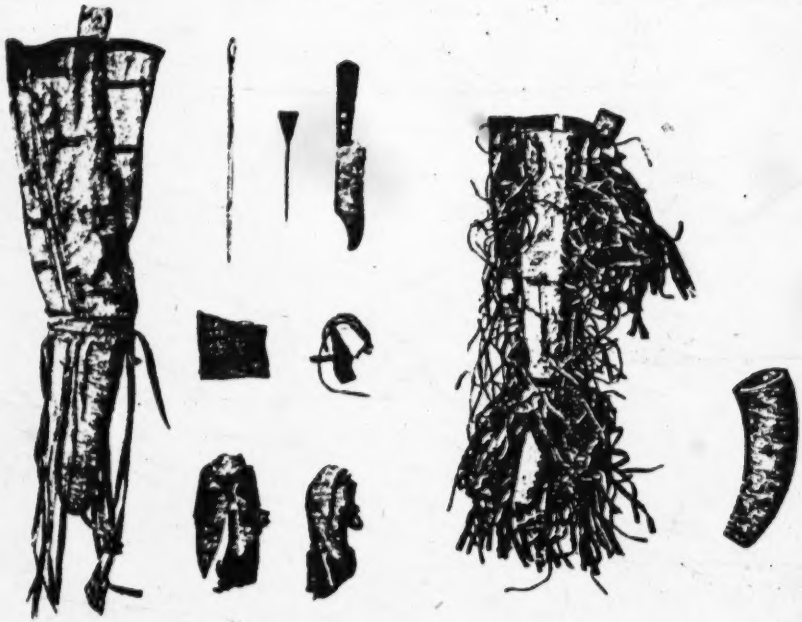

Fig. 220a–g. Sewing bags and their contents.

a. Sewing bag (*askagen*) made of decorated leather sewn to a piece of hollow ox-horn which constitutes the bottom of the bag. Dimension: 0.415 m long. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. – In the bag were the objects b–e.
b. Large sewing needle (*tazugla*, or *tazubla*).
c. Sewing awl (*tisteni*).
d. Leather knife (*tehmusit*).
e. Four pieces of leather (*izzemen*) for repairs. (N.M. G. 5225a–e).
f. Sewing bag (*askagen*) of the above-mentioned type but richly decorated with leather fringes. Ahaggar, *Harrarin* of I-n-dalag. Dimension: 0.335 m long. (N.M. G. 5241).
g. Ox horn (*isek*) cut for bottom of sewing bag (*askagen*). Ahaggar, *Harrarin*. Dimension: 0.136 m long. (N.M. G. 5228).

281 824 is fruit of the *taggart* acacia (*Acacia scorpioides*) which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *tiggart*. The fruit is pounded into a kind of flour or powder which is mixed with water in the large tanning receptacle made from camel hide (Ahaggar) or in a large wooden or enameled receptacle (Ayr). For tannin the Ahaggar Tuareg also use leaves of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). These are collected as follows: a large bough is cut off the acacia, and is left to dry in a clean, sandy place. When the bough and its leaves have been dried by the sun for some time, the bough is beaten with a stick so that the leaves

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fall to the ground where they are collected. They are conserved dry until tanning takes place when they are pounded in the large mortar and mixed with water in the tanning receptacle. The Ahaggar Tuareg may also use galls of the *tabarekkat* tamarisk (*Tamarix aphylla*) (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 885 & Maire 1933, p. 159) and fruit of the *tedjoq* tree (*Pistacia atlantica*) (Maire 1933, p. 149).

In addition to treatment with these vegetable tannins the skin is also treated with butter or rubbed with fatty substances, such as a piece of the brain of a slaughtered animal. These are the main features of skin tanning which in Ahaggar takes place in the following way:— (1) The hairy or depilated hide is placed in the tannin receptacle which contains one of the above-mentioned vegetable tannins mixed with water. The hide remains in this receptacle for one or two days if fruit of the *taggart* acacia is used, while three or four days will be necessary using *tamat* leaves known as *ala*. The hide in the receptacle is daily rubbed between the hands in order that the tannin may penetrate well into it. (2) When the hide is removed from the receptacle it is washed with cold water and thereupon dried in the shade.

Fig. 221 a–c. Skin bags.

a. **Bag of *tichchfkwat* type. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 0.45 m long. (N.M. G. 1.134).**
b. **Bag known as *abelbaf*. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.36 m long. (N.M. G. 5239).**
c. **Bag of *tichchfkwat* type. Ahaggar, probably manufactured by Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna. Dimension: 0.30 m long – without fringes. (N.M. G. 5219).**

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Fig. 222. Large bag of *téchchékwat* type. The *téchchékwat* bags (pl. *téchchékwatin*) are normally made of entire skins of kids or goats while this large bag is made from several pieces of leather sewn together. Ahaggar, probably manufactured in Ayr. Dimension: 0.92 m long – not counting the leather tassels. (N.M. G. 5216).

281 (3) Butter or fatty substances are rubbed into the inner side of the skin, after which the skin is covered with wet sand for a while. (4) The skin is dried and thereupon softened by rubbing it between the hands – a task sometimes performed by men, though tanning is the task of women.

281 The implements used by the Tuareg for the manufacture of skin articles are few and simple. Sewing
413 of skin is rarely done with a needle, though the large iron neddle known as *tanubla*, and in Ahaggar also as *tasugla* (Fig. 220b), is used for sewing among the Ahaggar Tuareg in the manufacture of donkey saddles (cf. Fig. 86, p. 110). But with such rare exceptions the Tuareg sew their skin articles by means of the little awl known as *tistent* in Ahaggar (Fig. 218a), as *éstan* in Ayr. With this implement the women pierce holes close to each other and through them draw thin leather thread
283 (*azzemi* in Ahaggar). Sinew thread is not in general use among the Tuareg, but I knew a gazelle hunter in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, who took out the sinews of the hind leg of a killed gazelle to use them for mending his leather belt. With this exception I have never seen sinew thread employed for sewing among pastoral Tuareg and my fairly large ethnographical collection containing all types of Tuareg skin and leather articles contains no specimen sewn with sinew thread. For sewing sandals the Ahaggar
413 Tuareg use a large awl which is known as *éndel* (Fig. 218b). This word is also used for iron implements

[Text continues on p. 280]

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Fig. 223. Skin bag (*adabau*) for transportation of personal objects on journeys. Dimension: 0.515 × 0.425 m. (N.M. G. 5236). Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tehlé* tribe.

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237 Ayr Tuareg a piece of ram's horn may serve as an amulet case attached around the upper arm. Horns
*[465] of barbary sheep are used for butter containers among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 223; Fig. 165), who sometimes use a piece of pointed gazelle horn for daubing antimony around the eye.

● 281 The Ahaggar women cut skin and leather with a small knife (*telmusit*), and a piece of wood (*asettew*)
462 and/or a stone (*tazzet*) are used for smoothing the skin which is then placed upon a particular wooden
[443] board (*elkeyleb*) (cf. Figs. 219a–d). The Ayr Tuareg do not make so much refined skin work. Women
*[465] among the Northern Tuareg conserve their implements for skin and leather work in a particular bag (*askagen*) which is made from leather attached to a bottom piece of horn (*isek*) (Figs. 220a–g).

[531] Northern Tuareg women take a great interest in their skin and leather artifacts, which are richly decorated with fringes and hanging tassels, and with geometric designs in different colours. I have
386 noted the following colours among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer:—
822 (1) *baba*, indigo which is introduced from the south in the form of balls.

(2) *tawnkent*, which is also known as *tafidet* and *tanezezzefi* according to Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1934. It is a yellowish mineral which yields an entirely black colour frequently seen on ornamented skin bags. The mineral according to the Ahaggar Tuareg is introduced from the south, while the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer claim that they obtain their minerals of this type from Serdeles north-east of Rat. – A black colour which is also known as *tawnkent* is said to be made by the Tuareg of Ahaggar in the following way:— Pieces of iron are put into water contained in some small receptacle, usually a tea glass. This receptacle containing water and iron pieces is covered with a bowl or a similar object in order that the sun light cannot penetrate. After a few days the water turns into a black colour to be used for skin dyeing.

(3) *semento*, a green colour derived from a mineral or a powder introduced from the south. According to some Tuareg this green colour is also made by means of a vegetable powder introduced from the north, from the region of Mzab.

(4) *khodarbas*, a powder which yields a green colour. It is said to be introduced from the south (from Tawa) and to derive from a tree known as *tafnit*.

[824] (5) *errummen*, the fruit of the pomegranate tree known as *terrummant* (*Punica Granatum*). It is used with a white mineral (alum), known as *azref n Tawat*, and introduced from In Salah. Parts of the pomegranate fruit and of this mineral are mixed with water to be used for a yellow or yellow-brown dye which is applied to many decorated skin bags for ground colour.

(6) *temesaruak*, a mineral introduced from the north (Mzab). It produces a yellow colour.

[243] (7) *herki*, a reddish brown colour obtained from a particular type of sorghum known as *tallak* grown in the cultivation centres of Ahaggar.

(8) *tédersé*, a white colour obtained by placing the skin for about three days in a container with fresh milk to which a little salt is added. – Among Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer I was told that a white colour is also obtained from a kind of powder introduced from the Sudan.

386 Before use these above mentioned colours or dyeing materials are generally dissolved in water
[631] contained in a tea glass. When they are employed for the very fine geometric designs of leather bags they are daubed with a small knife known as *telmusit* (Fig. 219b).

[439] It is interesting that most dyes used by the Northern Tuareg are introduced from the north or from the south,

[Text continues on p. 284]

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Fig. 228a–c.

a. A cylindrical hollowed piece of wood covered with leather. It is known as *tafeadit* and serves to contain antimony (*tazult*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.22 m long. (N.M. G. 5875).

b. Cylindrical brass tube covered with ornamented leather. It is known as *faralu we n tuka* and serves for the conservation of *tuka*, that is ashes of burned *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*). Ashes of this grass are used by some Tuareg for chewing tobacco. It is said in Ahaggar that containers of this type are made exclusively by noble women of the *Kel Rela* tribe, and that the containers should be worn only by noble Tuareg and not by vassals. The brass tube is always made by blacksmiths. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.265 m long (total length). (N.M. G. 5888).

[824] [276] [462] [565]

c. A piece of cane covered with coloured leather and fringes of the same material. It is called *tafeadit* and serves for the conservation of *tazult* (antimony). Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehit* tribe. Dimension: 0.116 m. (N.M. G. 5267).

386 the south, or are obtained from plants grown by sedentary agriculturists. The technique of skin dyeing as practised by the Tuareg nowadays cannot be considered an ancient one in Tuareg culture. Its [281] [174] origin is probably to be looked for in the more developed civilizations of Northern Africa, and not in a nomadic culture like that of the Tuareg. Other dyeing methods known to the Tuareg may well be very ancient. I believe this to be true of the red ochre known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tamegheyt*,

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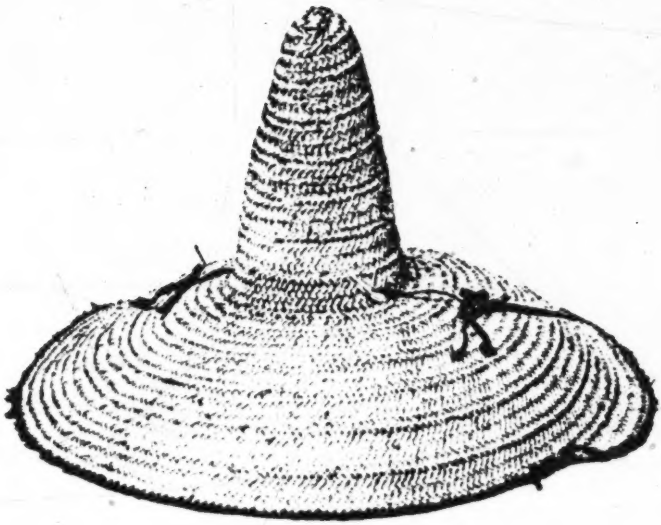

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*téłé*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aẓum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ġali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

● 281 462 A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

* [415] [564] Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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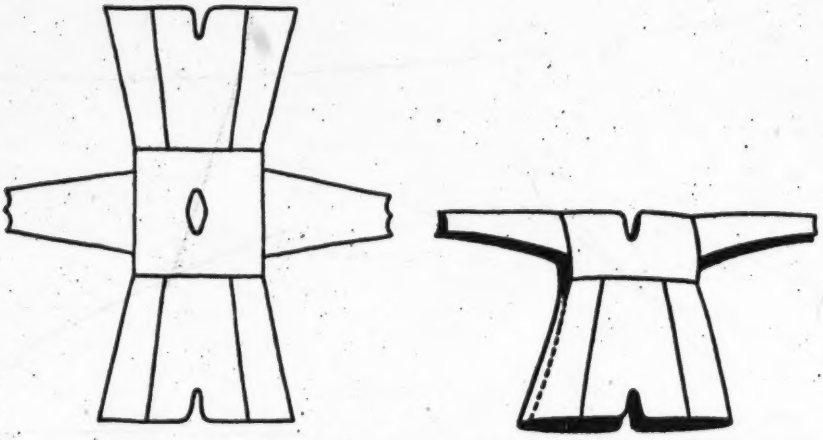

Fig. 232. The cut of a leather shirt (*tébetiḫ*) from Ahaggar. The shirt is ornamented with leather fringes along the seams and at the ends of the open sleeves. The shirt is made from sheepskin dyed with indigo. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ineṛ* tribe. Dimension: 1.15 m long, 0.60 m wide at the waist. (Musée de l'homme, No. 41-19-1645).

291 I have never seen a skin shirt among the Tuareg, but it seems as if skin shirts are worn in certain [237] parts of Ahaggar even at the present time. They are described from the regions north and east of the Kudia, and are made by certain tribes of the *Iseḫḫemaren* who use skins of barbary sheep or goats for the lower part of the shirt, fine goatskin for the upper part covering the shoulders, and gazelle skin or the skin of kids for the sleeves (Mounier 1942, p. 158). A skin shirt is found in the "Musée d'Ethnographie et de Préhistorie du Bardo" in Algiers. It is called *tébetiḫ*, and is described as follows:—

291 294 "Le corps de la tunique figurée est fait de trois pièces de cuir: une pour les épaules et la poitrine, avec un trou pour passer la tête, deux autres pour le devant et le dos. Ces deux dernières pièces sont reliées sur le côté par deux bandes de cuir verticales; le tout formant une sorte de robe évasée à la base. Les manches sont ouvertes dans le sens de la longeur, donnent ainsi liberté complète aux bras. De petites franges de cuir très fines décorent l'ensemble à l'emplacement des coutures. – Dimensions: hauteur totale 1.20 m; taille 45 cm; manche 55 cm. Inventaire du Musée: F 9". (Balout 1959, pl. VI).

291 The above-described shirt is clearly of the poncho type, and this is also the case with three leather [238] shirts preserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. The shirts seem to be identical in cut and size, and are here briefly described by reference to one of them. It is made from tanned and depilated sheep skin, dyed with indigo. Its total length is 1.15 m and width at waist 0.60 m. Its museum number is 41.19.1625 and it is said to have been manufactured by a woman of the *Kel-Ineṛ* tribe (*Iseḫḫemaren*).

[292] It is also stated in the museum's card-index that such shirts are worn by poor people in Téfedest and by *Dag Rali* slaves.

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arfuf* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-tohlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[IN] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [587] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [567] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *ekaraite* according [565] to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the

Ayr Tuareg up to the French

[Text continues on p. 296]

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l'homme, nos. 41.19.1376 & 1377). A skin skirt suspended from the shoulders by means of two leather straps also occurs among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Meneka and Gao (cf. Nicolas 1950a, Fig. 38,7 p. 169, p. 176).

In case of severe cold a simple hairy skin mantle may be worn by both men and women of the Northern Tuareg. These mantles are not very common nowadays, when most Tuareg use woollen blankets introduced from the north, but they are still worn by vassals, slaves, and sedentary agriculturists of Ahaggar. A skin mantle is known as *aghin* and it frequently consists of a single sheep-skin worn over the back with hair inside (Fig. 240). But there are also larger mantles composed of several hairy goat-skin and/or sheep-skin sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl (*tistent*). These larger mantles are attached around the upper part of the body by means of a leather cord around the neck (cf. Fig. 241). Skin mantles are said to be unknown in Ayr, and literature makes no mention of them in other Tuareg groups.

Garments made from skin or leather are nowadays rare among the Tuareg. But the Tuareg, like many other peoples who have given up the use of skin and leather for dress, still use this material for foot-wear which comprises various types of sandals.

The common type of sandal used among the Tuareg is known as *tyatimen* (sing. *tyatim*) which word is also used more generally for sandals of other types. It is made from the hide of oxen and sometimes of hides of the oryx antelope or giraffe whose hides are considered superior for sandals. It is not manufactured by the Tuareg but by sedentary peoples of Agadez and other towns in the south. The Northern Tuareg, like the Tuareg of Ayr, generally procure their sandals from Agadez where the type is also known by the Hausa word *takelmi*. The manufacture of such sandals is described in detail by Lhote, who states that the untanned hide to be used for soles is treated in the following way:— (1) Beating with wood against a flat stone; (2) Softening in wet sand; (3) Continued beating with wood against a flat stone; (4) Greasing with butter, tallow, or fatty vegetable substances; (5) Continued beating in order that the fat may penetrate into the pores of the hide. A sandal is made from two layers of hide thus prepared and covered with a tanned piece of sheep-skin which is dyed and decorated. These three layers are sewn together. The sandal is finally provided with a leather strap to pass between the first and second toes, and this strap again is connected with a broader band of leather sewn to both sides of the hind part of the sandal so that the band supports the instep (Fig. 242b). The reader is referred to Lhote's study of sandals for further information about their manufacture (Lhote 1950d, p. 514 ff.). The *takalmi* sandals are excellent for many purposes: They are easily pulled off and put on which is advantageous to camel riders who ride bare-footed but frequently dismount, and then need their sandals put on quickly because of the burning sand and rocks. The very broad soles of this sandal type is also very advantageous not only as protection against the burning soil, but also against the numerous acacia thorns lying so to speak everywhere in the river valleys. But the Tuareg do not wear sandals of this type just because they find them practical and efficient. They also wear them because they are considered more beautiful in shape and colour than other sandal types made by the Tuareg themselves. Among the Ayr Tuareg a particular type of sandal is plaited from dum palm leaves. According to Lhote this plaited sandal is known as *silisleplatine* (Lhote 1950d, p. 522, Fig. 10 p. 521, pl. XXII Fig. 1). I have never heard it called this, the name I

[text continues on p. 300]

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aestethic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ihen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

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and a mat-screen of this nature is known as *afnes* (pl. *ifnesen*). It seems as if mats made from *afezu* stems tied to one another with leather thread occur everywhere among the Tuareg who possess skin tents (cf. illustrations of Lhote 1947a). These mats form part of the tent as they constitute its walls. I have only once seen true plaited mats used with a skin tent, and this was not inhabited by ordinary pastoralists, but by blacksmiths (cf. Fig. 272). In addition to tent mats the Ahaggar Tuareg frequently use stone walls (*amutey*, pl. *imuteyen*) in front of their skin tent during the cold winter season (cf. Fig. 269b).

Among all Northern Tuareg a skin tent is known as *ehen*, and the sheet is called *ehakit*. The *Kel Denneк* Tuareg appear to use the same words for a tent and its sheet (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 153) while the Ayr Tuareg reserve the word *ehen* for a mat tent and employ the term *akum* for a skin tent. The Tuareg who use the word *ehen* to designate a skin tent will refer to mat tents as *asala* or *ewerwer* according to the type of mats used for a covering. We see that the word *ehen* is that generally used for a tent among the Tuareg. It is used for skin tents and mat tents alike. The Tuareg who live predominantly or mainly in skin tents use it for these dwellings, while Tuareg who live almost exclusively in mat tents reserve it as a term for their dwelling type.

Mat tents and skin tents may resemble each other in their structures but can also be very different. The mat tent is always an arched tent while this is true only of some skin tents. The main distinction between a mat tent and a true skin tent is that the mat covering is attached to the tent structure, while the sheet of skin is fastened to poles, pegs, stones, or other objects outside the structure supporting the sheet. Among most Tuareg who have skin tents there is a traditional system of poles or pegs for the fastening of the sheet.

In Ahaggar the tent sheet is traditionally fastened to twelve poles which are buried in 0.40–0.50 m deep holes dug by means of the digging stick (*elawet*; Fig. 123, p. 179), with the broad end of an iron lance, with a wooden stick, and/or the hand. There are three poles in front of the tent, three at the back, and three at each of the narrow ends. These poles have their particular names. The poles placed at the narrow ends are known as *tisdas* (sing. *tasdest*), the poles placed at the back are called *unnusen* (sing. *unnus*), while the three poles placed in front of the tent have different names as follows:— the middle pole, which is higher than the two other poles of this row, is called *igem*, and the two other poles are known as *madaren* (sing. *madar*). The use of these twelve poles is considered the correct method for tent erection, and they are always used in wedding tents; some Tuareg have poles beautifully carved by the blacksmiths, but for ordinary use the Tuareg do not always attach their skin tent to these twelve poles, but frequently use a few poles and attach the sheet to heavy luggage and the like, and at the back they may even place heavy stones upon the skin sheet. The poles placed at the narrow ends of the tent, known as *tisdas*, are also frequently substituted by small wooden pegs termed *tisettitay* (sing. *tasettitit*), and the sheet is then very close to the ground at the narrow ends. This same system of poles and pegs for fastening the skin sheet outside of the proper structure of the dwelling is also known to the Ahaggar Tuareg who live towards the south in the Tamesna plains, to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and also, I believe, to the *Kel Adrar*. Among the *Kel Denneк* there is a related system apparently comprising a few additional poles. The terms mentioned for these poles by Nicolas differ in his studies from 1938 and 1950. According to his last study the poles placed at the narrow end of the tent are termed *lidel* (or *chidel*), while all poles placed in front and at the back of

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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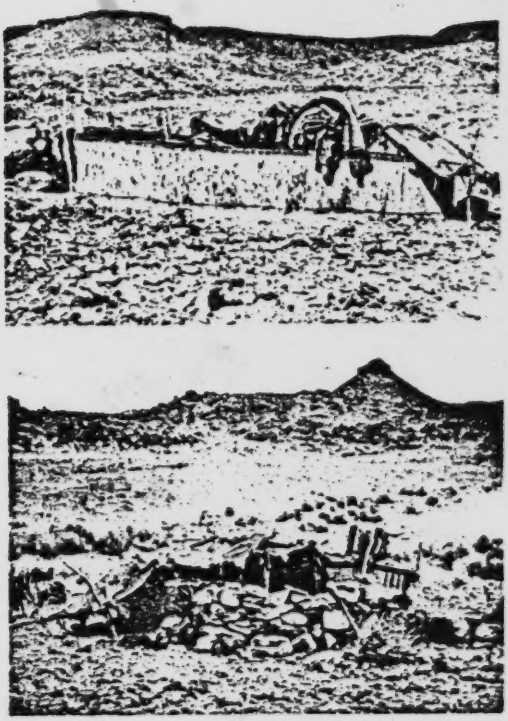

Fig. 269a–b. Skin tent of the B.2.f.3 type. The tent is surrounded by an *afezu* mat (*ɛisebeɛ*) and a stone wall (*amutey*) to protect the inmates against the cold winter winds. Ahaggar (the *Asakoɛ* zone), the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

*342 the tent are called *igemawen*; but the frontal poles are also known by more particular names according to their position (*madaɣ*, *igam*, *aserriri*). The terms mentioned by Nicolas in his 1938-study are largely those used in Ahaggar for similar poles (cf. Nicolas 1938, p. 54 ff. & 1950a, p. 153 ff., pl. VIII). It would appear that a somewhat related pole-system is used for suspension of the skin sheet among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* where very elaborately carved poles are found (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 82 ff.), while among the *Tengerregif* Tuareg further west a large number of high unfashioned boughs or sticks are used to suspend the tent (cf. Lhote 1947, illustrations p. 128 f.). As to the Ayr Tuareg, I have never seen properly suspended skin sheets among them, and the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg did not know any names for such pole systems. It would seem as if most Tuareg who live in skin tents use an almost identical system of poles to which they fasten the sheet. The sheet is never fastened to the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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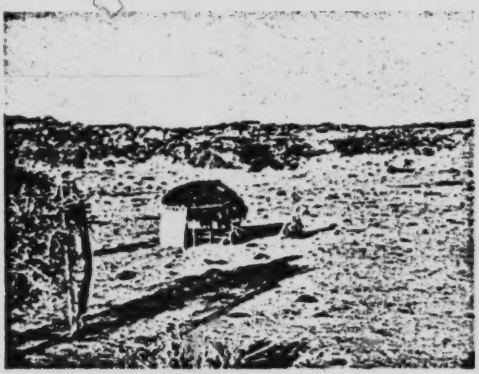

Fig. 270. An arched barrel-vaulted tent covered with a sheet of skin. In the background two arched mat tents. In the foreground to the left two cotton bows. Ayr, the *Kel Tédalé* tribe.

*342 true structure, and structurally there is a great diversity of tent types. It seems as if these tent structures can be divided into a few main groups which I shall describe in detail.

B.2.a. *Skin tents of arch construction.*

Tents which have one or more arches, generally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction are widely found in Tuareg country. They are in fact more common than appears from the literature which has been so far published on Tuareg culture. The wide distribution of this particular structure in skin tents is interesting, the more so as it is related to the structure of mat tents. There are the following types of arch structures:—

B.2.a.1. This tent was seen in a camp of the *Kel Tédalé* Tuareg of North-western Ayr. It is known that skin tents are found among them (cf. Joubert 1939, p. 252 f.), but they have never been described. The Ayr Tuareg say that in the past many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* lived in skin tents which, however, [114] are less common among them nowadays. This agrees with my own experience. I have visited several [361] *Kel Tédalé* camps, but I have only seen the skin tent here mentioned. This was found in a camp of three tents, the two others being ordinary mat tents. The skin tent I saw in this camp was also of the normal structure used for mat tents in Ayr, though shorter. The lower part was partly covered, not by a mat plaited from dum palm leaves, but by an *afezu* mat.

[221] B.2.a.2. Under this heading I describe two identical tents seen in a camp of *Ireŋenaten* Tuareg who belong to the Ahaggar federation but have their traditional grazing grounds west of the Ayr [36] Massif in the Tamesna Plains. The camp was actually situated in the region between Tegidda-n-tésemt [137] and I-n-abanŋerit, where perennial vegetation is extremely scarce and mainly comprises scattered *tamat* acacias (*Acacia flava*). The camp visited had eight skin tents among which were the two of arch construction as follows:—

[824] Both tents were very small, and their wooden structure was made of boughs of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia flava*). In the middle of the tent and at right angles to its longitudinal direction there was an

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arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aɣeɣu* (pl. *iɣeɣan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areɣaraɣa* (pl. *ireɣeraɣaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*téɣeɣɣewt*, pl. *tiɣeɣɣewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afezu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271).

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *téɣettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*téḍabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area.

Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireɣenaten* tribe.

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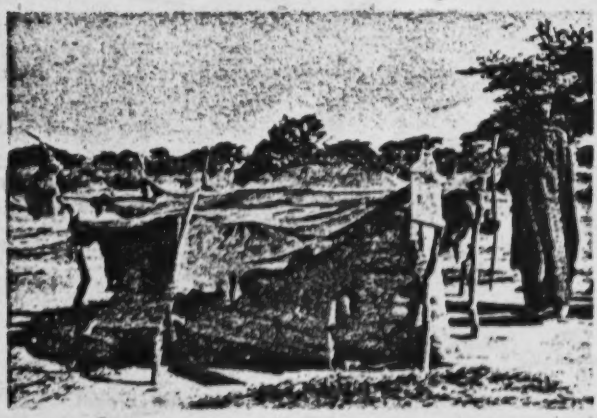

Fig. 272. Skin tent of the B.2.a.3. type belonging to *Kel Dennek* blacksmiths camping in Ayr near Agadez.

*342 of its ground area. The blacksmiths said that in their homeland at Twa only very small tents had central arches, while large tents had central T-shaped posts, but this latter structure could not be used in small tents because of the very large wooden bed. Tents of this type have not been described by Nicolas from the *Kel Dennek*, and various people who know this area have told me that they have never seen there tents of arch construction.

B.2.a.4. The tent type to be described is of arch construction. It was formerly very common in Ahaggar, but is extremely rare nowadays. The sheet of skin rests upon two arches placed parallel to each other at right angles to the longitudinal direction, and upon two horizontal cross-bars each lying on a pair of forked sticks. These wooden elements are normally made of the *tabarakkat* tree (*Tamarix aphylla*), the arches being manufactured from its roots which are heated over the fire and attached with cords in their bent position, as has already been described from the Ayr Tuareg, who make arches of acacia roots for mat tents in this way (cf. p. 351). But the arches used in Ahaggar are made from one piece of root each, and not from two pieces lashed together as in Ayr. The arches thus made are known as *iǧeǧan* (sing. *aǧeǧu*), but the term *tiheknin* (sing. *tihakent*) is generally used by vassals of the tribes *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* and *Dag Rali*. Though the arches are made from a single piece of root they may be fairly large, and two arches which are now in the Musée de l'homme in Paris have, according to Lhote, a diameter of 1.70 metres (cf. Lhote 1947a, p. 43; Musée de l'homme, Coll. H. Lhote 1941). The cross-bars horizontally placed at both sides of the arches are called *treǧeraǧaten* (sing. *areǧaraǧa*), and the forked sticks which support them *tiǧeǰǰewin* (*tiǧeǰǰewi*). Foucauld states that the two horizontal cross-bars resting upon forked poles do not properly belong to the tent structure, so that the sheet is supported only by the two arches which are placed parallel to each other at a distance of about 1.50 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 f.). These two arches are also mentioned by Benhazera without any reference to horizontal cross-bars (Benhazera 1908, p. 26). However, *my*

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investigations seem to prove that the cross-bars with their upright forked poles form part of the structure, but the sheet may not always be supported by the cross-bars, as the suspension of the sheet in hot weather may be so elevated that the sheet rests only upon the arches which are somewhat higher than the cross-bars. Traditionally, the sheet is attached to the system of twelve poles mentioned above (cf. p. 364). 342*

B.2.a.5. This tent, used in Ahaggar, is made up of the same structural elements as the above mentioned type, but the two arches are placed parallel to the longitudinal direction and at right angles to the two outer cross-bars. The Tuareg claim that this type is not a traditional structure. The arches, they say, should traditionally be placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction and not parallel to it. I have only seen one tent of this type, namely in the *Amenukal's* camp close to Abalessa. The two arches in this case were not made of tamarix roots but of slender palm-fronds lashed together with cords. The arches were about 1.10 m high and 0.90 m in width (cf. Fig. 273).

The following two tents used by the Ahaggar Tuareg are hybrid types which seem to be used mainly in the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe where I have seen a few:

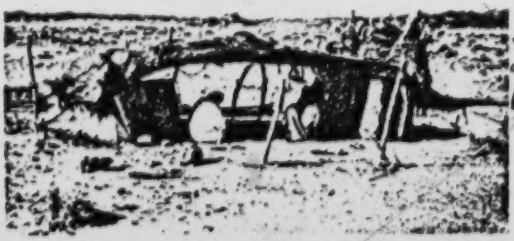

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Fig. 273. Skin tent of the B.2.a.5. type. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.

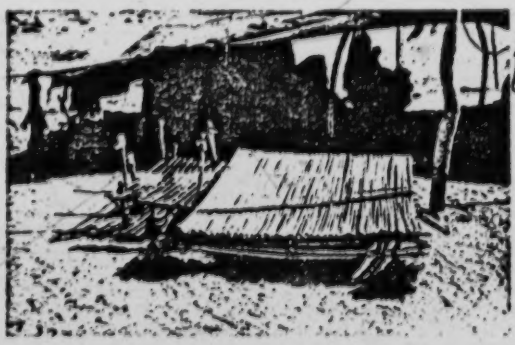

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Fig. 274. A close-up of the above tent (Fig. 273). In the foreground are beds for a married couple and a child. Such beds made of palm leaves' ribs are rare among pastoral Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Kel Ğela* tribe.

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*342 B.2.a.6. The tent has one arch made of tamarix root, and this arch is placed parallel to the longitudinal direction at the back of the tent. A horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraɣa*) rests with one end upon the top of the arch, while its other end is supported by a vertical forked pole at the front of the tent. At both sides of this cross-bar there is a cross-bar (*aregaraɣa*) resting upon two forked sticks (*tiɣejtewin*). This type is excellently depicted by Lhote (cf. Lhote 1947a, photos 24–26 p. 49 & 64; 1955, Fig. 23 p. 256).

B.2.a.7. The tent is identical with B.2.a.6 with the exception that there are two central horizontal cross-bars resting upon the top of the hind arch and upon two upright forked poles placed very close to each other in the front.

[381] B.2.a.8. This is a tent described and depicted by Barth from a Tuareg camp south of the Niger between the Hombori Mountains and the city of Bambara:— The sheet is suspended over three pairs of sticks of which the middle pair is much higher than the outer pairs. The middle pair of sticks is not of the same type in all tents, for the two high sticks in some tents are bent against each other and kept together by means of a very short piece of wood ("Querholz"). Judging from Barth's illustration of this tent it would seem as if the two middle sticks, united by a small piece of wood at their bent tops, form a high central arch. The skin tent, which contains two beds made from date palm-fronds, is apparently a very large one. It is provided with a mat of the type generally used for skin tents (Barth 1857–58, IV, p. 345 f.).

We conclude this description of arched skin tents by saying that these dwellings seem to be found within most Tuareg groups. Such tents are not so common nowadays as they were earlier. This is true of Ahaggar, where most Tuareg had arched skin tents until quite recently. Thus several informants about 50 or 60 years old told me that in their childhood most Ahaggar Tuareg lived in skin tents of this type.

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Fig. 275. Skin tent of the B.2.b.1 type. In the foreground a bed (*tédabat*) resting upon four forked sticks. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireɣenaten* tribe.

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*342 will quickly run down the sheet, and it is preferable in very hot weather not to sit just under the leather sheet which becomes extremely hot. A straw mat of *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) belongs traditionally to this type of tent as well as to other tents of T-shaped structure to be mentioned below.

B.2.g.2. This type is the most common one among the Northern Tuareg. It has two pairs of uprights (*tiǧeǰǰewin*) with horizontal cross-bars (*ireǧeraǧaten*), between which is placed the T-shaped post with its short cross-bar at right angles to the longitudinal direction of the tent. The sheet in this case may be suspended very high up at the surrounding poles, in which case it may be supported solely by the T-shaped post. But the forked poles (*tiǧeǰǰewin*) with their cross-bars normally serve as a support for the sheet which may be attached to small wooden pegs at the narrow ends (cf. Figs. 280-281). That the forked poles carrying cross-bars at both sides of the central post belong to the tent structure seems to be indicated by the Tuareg when they speak of *tiǧeǰǰewin n ehoḳit*, that is "the forked poles of the tent sheet".

B.2.g.3. A tent of the B.2.g.2. type with the exception that the short cross-bar of the central post follows the longitudinal direction and consequently is placed at right angles to the two cross-bars resting in forked poles at the narrow ends. I have once seen a tent like this in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but it was made from boughs cut from a tamarisk just before the tent was erected. These boughs were unfashioned, and the tent was on the whole put up in a rather haphazard fashion. The short cross-bar of the central T-shaped pole among the Northern Tuareg is traditionally placed at right angles to the longitudinal direction.

B.2.g.4. This type is a tent with a T-shaped post placed between two pairs of forked sticks with cross-bars as described above, but the very short cross-bar of the central post is attached to the outer cross-bars, resting on forked poles, by means of cords. The short cross-bar of the central pole is pierced with two or four holes for the attachment of these cords. I have not seen this type of structure, but have been told that it is occasionally used among the Ahaggar Tuareg.

B.2.g.5. An example of this tent is found in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum

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Fig. 280. A large skin tent supported by a central T-shaped post (the B.2.g.2 type). The curved form of the cross-bar resting upon the central post is clearly seen. The sheet of skin has five longitudinal skin rows (*teyda*). From a camp of Ahaggar Tuareg near Ingal.

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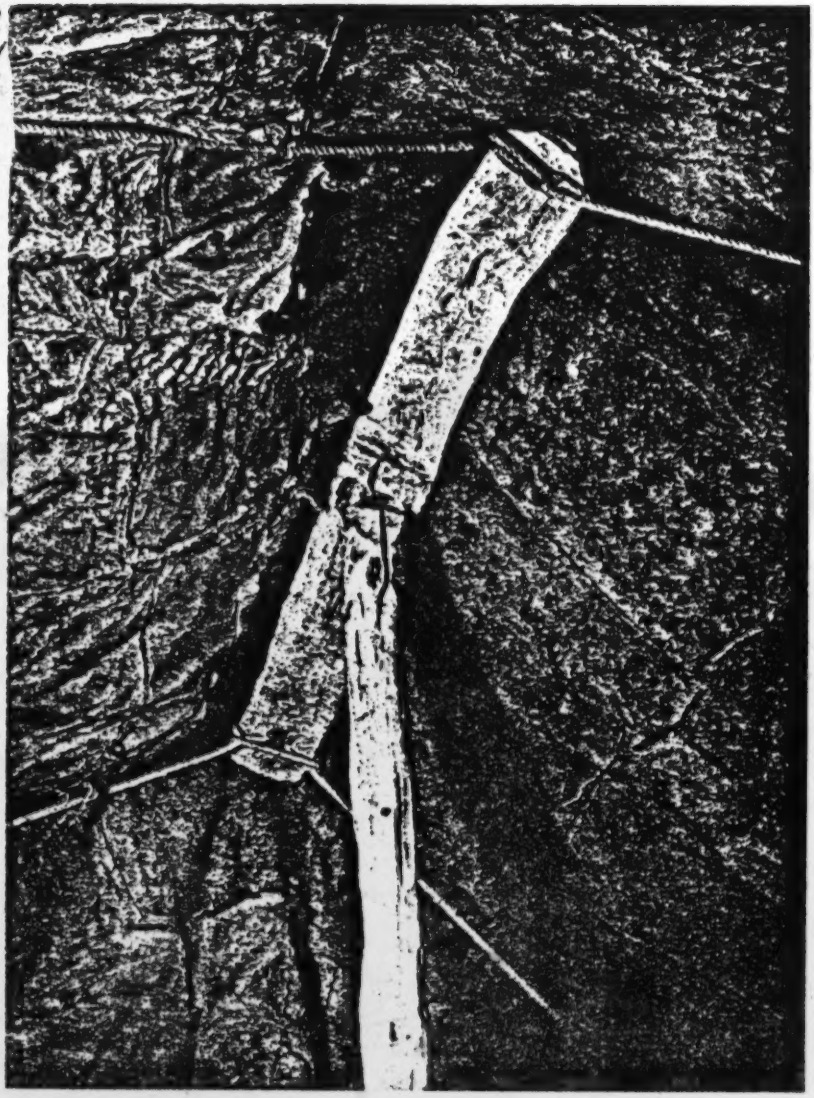

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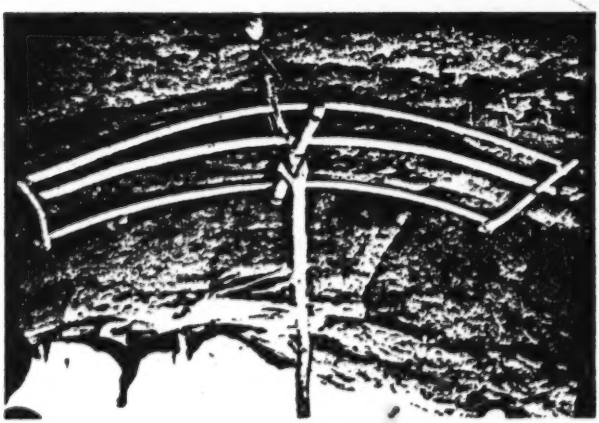

Fig. 283. Cross-bar (*tamankayt*) of the B.2.g.7 type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Iregenaten* tribe.

in case of very extreme heat in the summer make a kind of primitive T-shaped post from a simple bough of tamarisk, to the top of which they attach a short stick of the same material. They then wrap pieces of old cotton around the place of attachment in order that the post shall not gall the sheet. [114] But though I have lived among vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar over extremely long periods of the hot season I have seen such primitive T-shaped posts only once. As already stated T-shaped posts seem to be advantageous also during heavy showers of rain as the water quickly runs off the sheet. However, I have never seen vassal Tuareg use simple T-shaped posts in case of heavy rainfall, for they content themselves with holding a stick or pole against the sheet as long as rain falls. Primitive T-shaped posts like those just described from Ahaggar and consisting of a simple post at the top of which a short horizontal stick is attached, seem to be a mere imitation of the true T-shaped posts. However, there is another and very interesting type of T-shaped post, which I describe below under the two headings:—

[361] B.2.g.7. This tent I saw in a camp of *Iregenaten* Tuareg not far from I-n-abanferit in the Tamesna Plains. The tent had two pairs of forked sticks (*tigeffewin*) each pair carrying a horizontal cross-bar (*aregaraga*). These forked sticks with their cross-bars were about 0.70 m high. While these sticks were buried in the ground there was between their two cross-bars a central forked post (*aget*) about 1.20 metres high. In its prong it carried a most unusual cross-bar called *tamankayt*. This consisted of a wooden frame 1.44 m long and 0.72 m broad made from three long sticks attached to three short ones the middle one of which was particularly heavy and rested in the prong of the central post (cf. Fig. 283). The short sticks were parallel to the two outer cross-bars and at right angles to the longitudinal direction. In other words, the length of this cross-bar frame followed the longitudinal direction of the tent, but in spite of this we can speak of a cross-bar placed at a right angle to the longitudinal direction, as one of the short sticks of the frame rests upon the central post. The frame-like cross-bar was not fastened to the outer cross-bars with cords, and the central post was not buried in the ground.

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634 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should
565 a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble
571 Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellaɣ*, comprising half of the booty remaining when
613 one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.
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The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently
565 claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals
571 who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg
433 with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-
[234] camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important
[262] as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to
[281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the
[437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive
[234] part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese
[262] which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.